

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3476

DOD

INFO CINCPAC

CDR 13TH AF CLARK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 6716

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, RP

SUBJECT: SECURITY RELATIONS REEVALUATION

SUMMARY: SINCE MARCOS CALLED FOR REEVALUATION OF SECURITY RELATIONS WITH U.S. APRIL 16, HE HAS MOVED TO DEVELOP OPTIONS FOR PHILIPPINES TO BE AVAILABLE FOR ULTIMATE TALKS WITH U.S. WE DOUBT MARCOS YET HAS DEVELOPED ANY CLEAR IDEA OF WHERE HE WANTS TO GO AND IT IS CLEAR THAT HE--AND HE ALONE--WILL TAKE HIS TIME DECIDING WHAT IS BEST FOR PHILIPPINES. ALTHOUGH WE ASSUME THAT MARCOS WOULD PREFER TO RETAIN RELATIONSHIP WITH ENTITY HE KNOWS AND UNDERSTANDS, WE WOULD EXPECT AT LEAST HE WOULD LOOK FOR MODIFIED RELATIONSHIP. WHILE DELIBERATING ULTIMATE STRATEGY, AND PROBABLY TO ENHANCE NEGOTIATING POSTURE WITH US, HE WILL EXAMINE OTHER OPTIONS INCLUDING, HE SAYS, "ABROGATION" OF RELATIONSHIP WITH US. END SUMMARY.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF PHILIPPINE NEGOTIATING POSTURE HAS BEEN
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UNDER WAY SINCE MARCOS' KEY SPEECH APRIL 16 CALLING FOR RE-

EXAMINATION OF SECURITY RELATIONS. IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO READ INTO ALL EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN PHILIPPINES IN PAST FEW WEEKS A COOLLY THOUGHT OUT PLAN OF ACTION. SOME MAY HAVE BEEN HAPPENSTKTCE AND OTHERS, LIKE MORE RAUCOUS SOUNDS FROM LEFT DURING PAST FEW WEEKS, MAY SIMPLY HAVE BEEN TOLERATED AS USEFUL BACKGROUND NOISE TO "RE-EXAMINATION." MOREOVER, GOVERNMENT PLANNING BADLY RATTLED BY EVENTS IN INDOCHINA AND PERCEIVED THREAT TO PHILIPPINES. AND IT HAD TO BE RESPONSIVE TO TIME CONSTRAINTS PLACED ON GOP BY ASEAN MEETING JUST COMPLETED IN KUALA LUMPUR AND FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO PEKING WHICH MAY NOW BE EARLY JUNE. NEVERTHELESS, THERE DOES SEEM TO BE SOME PATTERN TO RECENT ACTIONS THAT WOULD SUPPORT SUPPOSITION THAT MARCOS IS DEVELOPING HIS OPTIOJNS FOR UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. ONE OVERALL PATTERN WOULD APPEAR TO BE ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGE OF INDEPENDENCE FROM US. GOP HAD ALREADY MOVED TO CERTAIN EXTENT IN THIS DIRECTION BY ESPOUSING THIRD WORLDISM IN PREVIOUS MONTHS. IT HAS SUPPLEMENTED THIS STANCE BY MOVING RAPIDLY AND OSTENTATIOUSLY TO SIGNAL A DESIRE TO OPEN RELATIONS WITH THE NEW INDOCHINA COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AND, CONCURRENTLY, INTRODUCING SOME STRICTURES ON THE EVACUATION OF VIETNAMES REFUGEES THROUGH US BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES. IT HAS SPONSORED A VARIETY OF STUDIES CRITICIZING--IN APPARENT REFLECTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S WISHES--THE RETENTION OF US BASES UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS (MACAPAGAL AND LAGDAMEO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO SWIM UPSTREAM ON THIS ONE; THEIR VIEWS BEING POUCHED SEPARATELY). READJUSTMENT CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN CARRIED DIRECTLY TO AFFECTED CITIZENS IN BASE AREAS--AT INSTIGATION OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MELCHOR--BY PHILIPPINE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PRESIDENT FRED ELIZALDE. ELIZALDE'S MESSAGE IS THAT ENTERPRISING BUSSINESSMEN COULD EASILY COMPENSATE FOR WITHDRAWAL OF BASES BY INSPIRED INVESTMENT. DUTIFULLY ENDORSED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN SO FAR IN ANGELES, BAGUIO AND OLONGAPO, MESSAGE IS TO BE CARRIED THROUGHOUT PHILIPPINES BY END OF MAY. MEDIA, AND ESPECIALLY LEFT WING TYPES, HAVE CARRIED SIMILAR THEME. INITIAL ELAN OF READJUSTMENT CAMPAIGN IS WANING TEMPORARILY IN DEFERENCE TO COUNTERVIEWS OF SOME FILIPINOS WHO HAVE OBJECTED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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INDOCHINA THREAT ESPOUSED BY ASEAN PARTNERS AND, PERHAPS, TO GOP'S OWN APPRECIATION OF FEELING THE LINE HAS BEEN OVERDONE. AS PREPARATIONS ACCELERATE FOR PRESIDENT'S PRC VISIT IN JUNE, HOWEVER, GENERAL DRIFT OF THE LINE WILL INEVITABLY BE RE-ASSERTED IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE OPTIONS. MARCOS HAS PRIVATELY TOLD AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN, HOWEVER, THAT HE EXPECTS PRC TO ADVISE HIM TO MAINTAIN HIS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH US.

3. ALTHOUGH IT OFTEN APPEARS THAT GOP CONDUCTS FOREIGN POLICY ONLY THROUGH SELF-DELUDING IMAGERY, WE BELIEVE MARCOS HAS ALSO CONCENTRATED EFFORT ON CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF VIEWS AND REACTIONS OF INDOCHINA, ITS ASEAN PARTNERS, THE PRC AND THE US. PERCEPTION OF INDOCHINESE THREAT HAS CLEARLY SUBSIDED DUE IN PART TO NORTH VIETNAMESE RESTRAINT TO GRUNK REBUFF OF HASTY GOP RECOGNITION AND, ESPECIALLY, TO MORE DELIBERATE COUNSEL OF ASEAN PARTNERS. ROMULO REMARKS AT CONCLUSION OF KUALA LUMPUR ASEAN MEETING AS QUOTED MANILA DISPLAY MORE TRADITIONAL ROTUNDITY OF FILIPINO FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS THAN REMARKS HE MADE PRIOR TO ATTENDANCE. WE DO NOT KNOW HOW GOP READS POST-INDOCHINA CHINESE POLICY BUT AS PREPARATIONS GET UNDER WAY FOR NEWLY ADVANCED PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO PEKING EARLY JUNE, WE WOULD EXPECT PHILIPPINES WILL BE ASSIDUOUSLY ATTEMPTING SORT OUT CHINESE GOALS. PRESUMABLY GOP WILL PRESENT ITSELF TO CHINESE IN ASEAN MANTLE EMBROIDERED WITH THIRD WORLD LACE. GOP WILL LISTEN INTENTLY FOR CHINESE VIEWS--AND EVEN SILENCE--ON US BASES. IF CHINESE ARE BENIGN ABOUT BASES, MARCOS WILL DEPART PEKING WITH OPTIONS OPEN, HAVING ACHIEVED CERTAIN IMAGE OF ASIANISM AND INDEPENDENCE FROM US WITHOUT HAVING COMMITTED HIMSELF IRREVOCABLY TO ANY COURSE OF ACTION.

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00

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4. AT END OF THESE REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN UNUSUAL MOMENTUM BY TIMING OF ASEAN AND CHINESE MEETINGS, GOP WILL BE READY TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO US. PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED ALL ALONG THAT HE SEES NO URGENCY IN DISCUSSIONS WITH US AND WE ASSUME HIS EXPOSURE IN DLEKING WILL NOT CHANGE THAT POSITION. HOWEVER, HE HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR HE WILL HAVE SOME "PRELIMINARY NEW VIEWS" TO CONVEY TO US BEFORE HIS CHINA TRIP. PRESIDENT'S FOREBEARANCE DUE IN PART TO FACT THAT HE HAS NOT, WE ARE CONVINCED, DECIDED WHICH WAY HE WANTS TO GO. HE IS AN EXCEEDINGLY CAREFUL MAN AND HE WOULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF TO COURSE OF ACTION WITHOUT CAUTIOUS, PROTRACTED EVALUATION OF WHERE IT WOULD TAKE HIM. OTHER DELAYING FACTOR IS PHILIPPINE NEED TO ASSESS US VIEWS. PROMINENCE GIVEN IN LOCAL MEDIA TO PASSING REFERENCE TO PHILIPPINES IN US STATESMEN'S REMARKS INDICATIVE OF HIGH STATE OF INTEREST. WITHOUT SOME BETTER APPRECIATION OF LIKELY US ATTITUDE TOWARDS AREA AND ITS "COMMITMENTS" TO PHILIPPINES, PRESIDENT WILL BE IN NO HURRY TO CONCLUDE HIS SECURITY RELATIONS RE-EXAMINATION. MARCOS IS PARTICULARLY UNSURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS PHILIPPINES PREVAILING
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IN NEW US CONGRESS POST-INDOCHINA.

5. WE THINK MARCOS WILL WANT TO RETIAN CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH US. HE IS FAMILIAR WITH US, SPEAKS ITS POLITICAL IDIOM, AND WOULD FAR PREFER TO DEAL WITH KNOWN AND REASONABLY TRUSTED ENTITY--PROVIDED IT RETAINS SOME CLOUT--THAN TO TILT BALANCE IN FAVOR OF UNCERTAIN FUTURE WITH PRC, THIRD WORLD OR COMBINATION THEREOF. EVENTS HAVE GONE TOO FAR IN AREA, HOWEVER, FOR HIM TO WANT TO RETAIN STATUS QUO. ONCE HE BEGINS TO MOVE NEW GROUND WILL BE BROKEN.

6. BECAUSE PHILIPPINE THINKING STILL IN FORMATIVE STATE, AND GOP SO OBVIOUSLY EYEING US PRONOUNCEMENT, WE RECOMMEND US MODULATE ANY FURTHER "REASSURANCES" FOR TIME BEING. WE THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE CLEAR IN-HOUSE UNDERSTANDING OF US GOALS HERE BEFORE WE ENTER INTO ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOP. THESE GOALS, ENCOMPASSING POSSIBLE RE-ORIENTATION OF STRATEGIC CONCEPTS AND USE OF AND NEED FOR BASES HERE, WILL OBVIOUSLY REQUIRE WASHINGTON-WIDE DELIBERATIONS, AND CLEAR CUT UNDERSTANDINGS WITH CONGRESS. UNTIL THESE GOALS ESTABLISHED AND TO AVOID CREATING ANY MISLEADING PERCEPTIONS ON PHILIPPINE PART, WE CAN USEFULLY ASSUME ROLE OF QUIET, FRIENDLY, BUT PATIENT ALLY WHICH SYMPATHIZES WITH PHILIPPINE DILEMMA, AND IS WILLING TO PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN RESOLVING IT. ABOVE ALL, WE

SHOULD REFRAIN FROM VOICING ANY GREAT CONCERNS ABOUT OUR
BASES AND AVOID APPEARING OVER-EAGER ABOUT OUR "NEED" FOR
THEM AS A MATTER OF EXCLUSIVELY AMERICAN INTEREST.
SULLIVAN

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